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## REVIEWS.

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*The Social Unrest: Studies in Labor and Socialist Movements.*

By JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903. Pp. 394.

FEW investigators in this field have not crossed the path of Mr. Brooks in the cities of America and Europe. A large part of the evidence in this volume has been gleaned from conversations and correspondence, and one is invited to listen to the confidential admissions of labor leaders, socialists, and capitalists in the privacy of closed offices and back parlors.

"Social unrest" arises from justified suspicion. Capitalists complain of the bad conduct and low character of miners and woodcutters, yet import more of the same kind to help break strikes. They decry "paternalism," praise individualism and self-reliance, yet lobby for high tariffs, purchase franchises, corrupt courts, and fatten on privileges. They antagonize labor unions and construct colossal combinations. They admit the abstract right of laboring men to unite, but use all available means to crush them as soon as they become effective. Business uses up men until they are fifty years old and then abandons them, crippled and sick, to the chances of old age. Society devises vast advantages from the introduction of inventions, but throws the cost on those least able to bear it.

Politics and business have already united; the "trust" has compelled the public to look to governments for protection. Free competition without regulation is confessedly a failure, for it digs its own grave.

Social unrest is not entirely new, and it is not confined to trade unions and socialists. The civilized world is in ferment, eager for something new and better. Even the placid waters of the Orient are disturbed by mature commerce and culture. The newspapers irritate and awaken dormant desires. Business men and taxpayers who are enemies of socialism are more ready to welcome governmental interference when they see city councils bought up for private interests, profits concealed, and privileges of a few made a burden upon generations unborn.

All classes are enjoying wealth and comforts impossible to our ancestors, but a sense of justice requires that special favors should not unduly enrich a few. "A man can't die on skim milk, but you don't like to see a few at a side table take all the cream."

The fear of private control of government haunts the thought even of those who a few years ago most bitterly denounced state aid and extension of municipal functions. "There is a growing conviction that private ownership may gather to itself such strength and mastery as to control politics and defeat the very beginnings of democratic government."

The trade-union movement is a part of the general life of democracy. It "rests on the assumption that the production and distribution of wealth, as now managed, ought to be and can be so far changed as to give the laborer more power in deciding the terms under which he works."

In a study of the effects of machinery and the attitude of trade unions toward labor-saving devices, the author shows how antiquated is American law in relation to modern conditions. The doctrine of employers' liability, which was suited to the small shop, is absurd when applied to a complicated mill. "The average business now insures against accidents in some private company, whose skilled lawyer knows every device to beat the injured workman in the courts." It is almost impossible to get a hearing in America for the principle which underlies the German insurance laws and for an imperial experience with those beneficent laws. "Here and there private corporations act honorably toward their injured workmen, but the general mass of crippled life in our country is indemnified, if at all, with a meanness, with a fickleness and uncertainty, that is a reproach to our civilization." No nation has realized such immense benefits from machinery, and no people has so loaded the laboring class with the disadvantages which come with improvements.

The "master passion" of democracy is not for absolute equality and monotony of existence, but for equality of opportunity for man, woman, and child.

If trade unions are defeated, socialism is at the door. Thus said the conservative Professor Clark in his essay on trusts, and our more radical author agrees with him. The hope of wage-workers, when they are not sunk in apathy, is now in the trade unions; but even in these there is a strong and aggressive socialistic membership who actually wish the unions to fail. Whenever a strike is defeated capitalist man-

agers unite with socialists in singing a hymn of thanksgiving—but for opposite reasons. The modern organization of industry and trade multiplies dependents and diminishes the number of managers. This seems to be a clear triumph of those who are fortunate enough or strong enough to hold the reins and drive. But there is another side. Government is the creature of votes. It is true legislators may be bought and administrators may be hired by the long purse, and, for a time, the mob may be dazzled and confused. But power which depends on bribery, ignorance, and fear is on the crumbling edge of an abyss. Modern workingmen will have something to say about their income, their physical surroundings, their hours of toil, their personal treatment. They are willing to concede to the managers the control of capital and machinery, but not of their own persons. If the trade union is ruined, the alternative is the conquest of life through the ballot; that is socialism.

The author shows that even socialism is not so much to be feared if it is properly educated, not by articles and sermons, but by actual share in administration, as in co-operative associations and in municipal business. He looks for a treaty between the fair and honorable men of both parties, as in the joint agreement, in experimental extensions of municipal functions, and in arrangements for greater publicity of corporations, as well as in a toning down of autocratic arrogance of employers and a deepening sense of partnership.

CHARLES R. HENDERSON.

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*The Negro Artisan.* By W. E. B. DuBois. [Atlanta University Publication No. 7.] Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press. Pp. 132. \$0.50.

THIS work is the most exhaustive study thus far made of the economic aspects of the negro problem. The particular phases studied are "a study of skilled work and the training of black boys for it."

Speaking of the economics of emancipation, Mr. DuBois draws some very interesting and important conclusions. He points out that after emancipation the negro mechanic, for several years, had a monopoly of the southern labor market. Three occurrences, however, soon disturbed the situation: (a) the competition of white mechanics; (b) the efforts of the negro for self-protection; (c) the new industrial development of the South. "These changes were spread over a number of years, and are not yet complete, but are the real explanation of